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## PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

# BANQUET OF THE JACKSON DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION,

WASHINGTON, EIGHTH OF JANUARY, 1852.

The Democracy assembled in the main saloon of Jackson Hall, on the evening of the Eighth of January, to celebrate the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, and to listen to the speech of M. KOSSUTH, the Hungarian Chief, a guest of the Democratic Association.

The saloon, which was filled early to its utmost capacity, was arranged for the banquet in excellent taste. The decorations were such as became the occasion. In the rear of the distinguished guest, were to be seen the Hungarian and Turkish banners, partially enveloped within the folds of the American flag. The Crescent and the stars intermingled, shone with real brilliancy. Above the heads of the great Hungarian Chief and the other distinguished guests who sat on the right and left floated another American banner, supported on either side by that of Hungary. In the corners of the saloon were gracefully unfurled other American and Hungarian banners, whilst the entire walls were appropriately festooned with Hungarian colors. Over each of the ten windows was a small flag, with the stars and stripes, bearing also the words, "Welcome Kossuth to the land of freedom." The tables, five in number, ranging the whole length of the saloon and across it, at which nearly five hundred gentlemen and ladies were seated, were spread in a sumptuous manner. Marselett's grand Infantry Band enlivened the festivities with music most appropriate and delightful to the ear.

J. D. HOOVER, Esq., President of the Jackson Association, presided.

Among the invited guests were on the right of the President Governor LOUIS KOSSUTH, Honorable LEWIS CASS, Honorable S. A. DOUGLAS, Honorable HENRY DODGE, General LANE, Honorable JESSE

D. BRIGHT, and Honorable AUGUSTUS C. DODGE; while upon his left were F. P. BLAIR, Esq., Honorable SAM HOUSTON, Major DONELSON, and Mr. RITCHIE. At the head of one of the centre tables were seated a portion of the ladies, and all the gentlemen comprising the suite of the Hungarian Chieftain.

The following is the letter of invitation under which the guests were present, except the Hungarian Chief and his suite, viz:

WASHINGTON, December 13, 1851.

SIR: The undersigned committee, appointed by the Jackson Democratic Association to make arrangements to celebrate the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, on the 8th of January next, have deemed it a fit occasion to bring together, at Washington, as many of the friends of the Hero of that day as can make it convenient to attend; among them they recognize you, and transmit this invitation in the hope that you will be enabled to signalize the festival, at Jackson Hall, by your presence.

The time, the place, and the occasion, will be propitious to the harmonizing influences which it is hoped the Democracy of every section of the Republic is now disposed to apply to allay the painful and threatening differences which have for some years pervaded the party, overthrown its ascendancy in the administration of the Government, and made the Union itself a hazard staked on the management of that party which has repeatedly brought it in danger. The wise, the good, and the great, in and out of Congress, ought to bring their conciliating counsels in aid of the memory of the illustrious citizen whose whole life was devoted to make good his motto "The Union must be preserved."

We shall be pleased to receive a response to this invitation at the earliest day practicable.

We have the honor to be your obedient servants.

J. D. HOOVER,	FRANCIS P. BLAIR,
W. W. CURRAN,	E. B. ROBINSON,
ZEPHANIAH JONES,	J. KNOX WALKER,
Col. J. G. BERRET,	CHAS. S. WALLACH,
Dr. A. W. MILLER,	Committee.

At 8 o'clock the President invited the assembly to partake of the viands before them, and for nearly an hour compliance



with this invitation and social conversation reigned supreme.

In order to be the better heard, the President and the invited guests, at a quarter before 9 o'clock, took a position at the side of the hall, and the toasts were, several of them, repeated by B. B. FRENCH, Esq., at the end of the hall.

The first regular toast was read by the President (and was followed by the band) as follows:

1. WASHINGTON: The greatest, wisest, purest—the most glorious of mankind.—[Hail Columbia.]

The second toast was read by B. B. FRENCH, Esq., as follows:

2. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.—[President's March]

The President read the third, as follows:

3. ANDREW JACKSON: Foreign nations see his fame on the field of battle—his country in his civil administration—his friends in the bosom of the Hermitage.—[Hail to the Chief.]

This toast was received with great applause; and, being repeated by BEN. B. FRENCH, Esq., three cheers were given.

F. P. BLAIR, Esq., then delivered the following address:

GENTLEMEN: I am directed by the Committee to respond to this sentiment, by associating with the venerated name just commemorated that of one not less patriotic, but not yet so fortunate—of one, however, who still lives in the vigor of manhood, and to receive, I fondly hope, the crowning honor bestowed by the author of the Declaration of Independence on Jackson, who fought its last battle; and may Hungary yet boast of Kossuth, and say, This man filled the measure of his country's glory.

Were the Great Chief whose anniversary we hail now here, the Exile invited to share his hospitalities would have found one to receive him whose heart was open as day to melting charity—who, seeing him in these sables for his country's fall, would have drawn him to his bosom, that he might feel the warmth and throbbing of his mighty heart—who, seeing him burdened with his nation's woes, and hearing him plead its cause with an eloquence greater than Paul's before Agrippa, would have welcomed him, not with the hand of "cold obstruction," but with the grasp of cordial sympathy and support.

The Association proposes an expression of its feelings and opinions in a toast, which requires a few prefatory remarks, to prevent the conclusion that a change in the policy of our Government is implied in its pledge in relation to the concerns of foreign States, the attitude of which does not involve interests of our own. That policy does not conflict with the right we vindicated as a nation, in establishing the Government we enjoy—the right to interfere with the course of any government that endangered its safety. We called to our aid a foreign Power to sustain the independ-

ence we asserted; and the judgment of all, including that of the Government which opposed it, now justifies the act. Are not the principles admitted in our own case applicable to another precisely similar? We besought the King of France to interpose in behalf of our nationality when England aimed to absorb its freedom in its omnipotence. And the King of France interposed in behalf of our country, because he saw in the colossal power of England, growing to a dangerous supremacy, through its illimitable increase on this side of the Atlantic, hazard to the independence of his nation; and this justified his intervention in the eyes of all mankind. If the people of this country see in the march of military despotism on the Old Continent danger to the liberties of the New; if they see in the overthrow of the independence of Poland—in the dismemberment of that Republic, and its distribution among the despotisms of the North; if they see in the bloody sacrifice of Hungary—in the utter subversion of its time-honored independence, and the bitter oppression of its people under the lash, the hangman's halter, and military executions *en masse*; if they see in Austria and Prussia the pledges of the reigning houses to govern under constitutional forms limiting their power, violated, and their adhesion given to the Czar's principle of extirpation of all government, save that dependent on the sovereign's will, enforced by the bayonet; if they see the proposed German confederacy of States vanish, and every petty prince become a despot under a greater despot; if they see France, that but yesterday had a representative government founded on a written constitution, put in an instant under the foot of a standing army, hired by largesses to immolate a hecatomb of the friends of the Republic, and to force the survivors to vote a dictatorship, with the sword at their throat, and the cannon still sounding in their ears the knell of the constitution and its defenders; if they see this war of extermination triumphing over the principles on which they repose for safety, and arraying the whole powers of a continent in deadly enmity to their institutions,—may they not be permitted to look abroad and gather some strength for their defence? May they not make an effort to interpose the masses of the people who are the immediate object of attack, and by sustaining them, ward off the danger threatened by the coalition of despots? May they not be allowed to resuscitate Hungary, and make her the barrier against the encroachments of Russian ambition, as she was once the bulwark of Christendom against Mahomet's religion and the rule of the Janizaries? May they not discharge, in some small degree, their obligations to France, by giving their countenance, at least, to the revolt of her people against the substitution of the sword for their constitution? And if the French people should fail in maintaining the free principles which they carried from our shores to their own, may not ours be allowed to unite with a kindred nation, from which they inherited their kindred institutions (now threatened alike with a common danger) for the purpose of arresting the progress of a domination which would desolate the earth?

If the conflict shall be renewed in Europe between the free and the despotic principle, England, beyond doubt, must have a share in it. She is too rich, too tempting to lie almost in the bosoms of the victorious usurpers of the Continent, to escape

undespoiled, if she should be neutral, and wait until every other people have suffered spoliation. And what have we to expect from neutrality, while Russia wage her war for universal dominion, or at least for universal despotism, with Austria and France to aid, and England and such allies as she may attach to her cause, make resistance? We may anticipate the treatment which we received from the belligerents, when Napoleon pressed on to empire over all the nations, as Russia does now. Then our commerce, and the pursuits which bring civilized nations in contact, exposed our unarmed ships and citizens to insult and robbery, our sailors to impressment, and our Government to contempt. To secure our country from the outrages inflicted by both belligerents, it was compelled to declare war against that one, whose insults and injuries were the least tolerable. Can we hope now, when the war is intended to exterminate the principle of which our Government is the great exemplar, that our people will be allowed the immunity of free-trade and intercourse with the belligerents, to grow rich and strong amid their calamities, under the pretext of non-intervention in a controversy which originates in the incitements and longings of the revolting nations, growing out of the blessings they see conferred by our Republic?

If a general war grows out of the attempt to establish absolutism, we shall in vain try to evade our responsibilities by pacific professions. The impending danger can only be averted from us by the ability of the people of Europe, now kept down by military mercenaries, to rise like the French against the Bourbons, and assert their own rights. To encourage such efforts is the duty of every free people, and of all that would be free.

The Sultan, although a sovereign, did not withhold his encouragement from Hungary in asserting her ancient rights and independence. He gave a safe retreat and deliverance to the Chiefs relied on for a renewal of her struggle under happier auspices. He defied the Autocrat and his ally, who demanded their surrender, and risked the war denounced as the consequence of refusal. He maintained his own good faith, and vindicated the law of nations. And shall we shrink from this duty? Shall our Government hesitate to denounce, as a violation of the laws of nations, the intervention of the Czar to crush the free nations of the earth? Shall it hesitate to declare it a justification of a counter-intervention on the part of every independent Government, and especially of that whose principles are struck down by the aggressor?

Our countrymen will not assent to the one-sided doctrine. They will intervene to lift up those stricken down by intervention:

*The Exiles from Europe*—LIBERTY AND LOUIS KOSSUTH.

M. KOSSUTH responded as follows:

GENTLEMEN: I feel sincerely gratified with the honor of being invited to be present on this solemn occasion, dedicated to the memory of a glorious as well as highly-responsible fact in your history.

There is high political wisdom in the custom yearly to revive the memory of civil virtue and national glory in the mind of the living generation, because nothing is more efficient to keep alive the spirit of patriotism—that powerful genius which like the angels of Scripture, guards with flaming

sword the Paradise of national liberty and independence. Happy the land where the history of the past is the history of the people, and not a mere flattery to kings; and doubly happy the land where the rewards of the past are brightened by present glory—present happiness—and where the noble deeds of the dead, instead of being a mournful monument of vanished greatness which but saddens the heart, though it ennobles the mind, are a lasting source of national welfare to the age and to posterity. But where, as in this your happy land, national history is constituted to be the elementary basis of education—where the very schoolboy is better acquainted with the history of his country than in monarchies scarcely the professors are—in such a country it would be indeed but a ridiculous parading of vanity for a stranger to dwell upon facts which every child is better acquainted with than he can be. Allow me, therefore, gentlemen, rather briefly to expound what is the practical philosophy of that great victory which you are assembled to celebrate—what is the moral of the strain as it presents itself to the scrutator's mind.

Just as a man has to pass through several periods of age, each of them marked with its own peculiarities, before he comes to a settled position in life, even so a nation. A nation has first to be born, then to grow; then it has to prove its passive vitality by undergoing a trial of life. Afterwards it has to prove its active force in gaining ascendancy in its own immediate horizon. At last, it must take its competent seat amongst the nations of the world as a power on earth. Every one of these periods of national life must be gone through. There is no help against it. It is a necessary process of life. And every one of these life-periods has its own natural condition, which must be accepted as a necessity, even if we should not be pleased with it. As there is no jumping in Nature, equally there is no stop to it. A man must be a child before he becomes a youth, and he must have been a youth before he becomes a man. But, then, if it be ridiculous to desire from the child to act as a youth, or from a youth to be a man, it is indeed impossible for the youth to be still a child, or to the man not to become a man. He must, because he is; and if, being a man, he does not act as it becomes a man to act, well, then, he loses the position of a man. It is quite the same with nations.

Gentlemen, having passed through the ordeal of an earnest life, with the view before my eyes to have yet to steer through stormy gales, it is natural that, while I grasp with steady hand the helm of my tempest-tossed bark, I look with calm attention to the compass of History to guide me by its philosophy through the flaming waves. And there is no history more instructive than yours, because you have concentrated within the narrow scope of a few years that natural process of national life which elsewhere was achieved but through centuries; and while other nations, starting from a false point of a false principle, wavered in their progress like the magnetic needle surrounded by iron bars, you, starting from a true point, conscious of your aim, advanced in a straight direction to that aim; and there you are, arrived, in a short time, where other nations failed to arrive in centuries, consuming the strength of manhood in making their way, and growing old

before they got to the settled position of the man

It would be a mistake, and a mistake not undangerous, to believe that your nation is still in its youth because it has lived but seventy-five years. The natural condition of nations is not measured by years, but by those periods of the process of life which I had the honor to mention already. And there is no nation on earth in whose history these periods were so distinctly marked as in yours. First, you had to be born. There is the period of your glorious struggle for independence. Eternal glory to those who conducted it! You were baptized with blood, as it seems to be the destiny of nations; but it was the Genius of Freedom which stood god-father at your baptism, and gave to you a lasting character by giving you the Christian name of "*Republic*." Then you had to grow, and, indeed, you have grown with the luxuriant rapidity of the virgin nature of the American soil. Washington knew the nature of this soil, fertilized by the blood of your martyrs and warmed by the sun of your liberty. He knew it when he told your fathers that you wanted but twenty years of peaceful growth to defy whatever power in a just cause. You have grown through those twenty years, and wisely avoided to endanger your growth by undertaking a toil not becoming to your growing age; and there you stood about another twenty years, looking resolutely but unpretendingly around if there be anybody to question that you were really a nation on earth. The question was put in 1812, and decided by that glorious victory the anniversary of which you celebrate to-day. That victory has a deeper meaning in your history than only that of a repulsed invasion. It marks a period in your national life—the period of acknowledged, unshakable security of your national existence. It is the consummation of your Declaration of Independence. You have proved by it that the United States possesses an incontestable vitality, having the power to conserve that independent national situation which your fathers have established by the Declaration of Independence. In reality, it was the victory of New Orleans by which you took your seat amongst the independent nations of the world, never to be contested through all posterity. A nation is really independent only when it proves by fact to make good the word of the poet:

"Come the three corners of the world in arms,  
And we will shock them."

The victory of New Orleans was a proof of it—was the period of demonstrative passive vitality. And the process of life went on. The next natural period was to demonstrate your vitality. That was demonstrated by the war against Mexico.

If the history of New Orleans was the period demonstrating the security of your national existence, the victorious war against Mexico was the period demonstrating not only that nobody can dare to attack your existence, but that also your national interests must be respected, and nobody can dare to oppose them.

The period of active vitality is accomplished. Now one period then remains yet to achieve—that to take your seat, not among the *nations* of the earth, because *that* you have since the day of New Orleans, but amongst the *Powers* on earth. What is the meaning of that word "*power on earth*?" The meaning of it is to have not only the power

to guard your own particular interests, but also to have a vote in the regulation of the common interests of humanity, of which you are an independent member—in a word, to become a tribunal controlling the maintenance of the law of nations, precisely as your Supreme Court controls the maintenance of your own Constitution and laws. And, indeed, all logic of statesmanship, all philosophy of history, would be vain, if I were mistaken that your great nation is arrived at this unavoidable period of the natural process of your natural life.

The sympathy which I meet with in your glorious land—the very toast you are pleased to honor me with—the principles you expressed—are a highly significant demonstration of the truth of this statement of mine. Indeed, gentlemen, what is the explanatory key of this rapid progress of the manifestation of public opinion in respect to those principles of international law which I plead, awkwardly perhaps, but certainly with sincerity? Is it my bad English stammering, which I am indeed ashamed for, and I must feel happy if I am not laughed at for it? Is it this miserable frame, marked with the sad stamp of misfortune and toil? Is it even the justice and the misfortune of my native land—the more deserving the sympathy of generous hearts as it is in intimate relation with the future destinies of Europe? Oh, no, gentlemen; all this can have contributed as an opportunity to the manifestation of an existing fact; but it neither has created the fact, nor is it the explanatory key of its existence. The key of it is that circumstance that when a nation arrives, in the process of national life, to the period of a Power on earth, then the question of foreign relations, regulated by international law, becomes the pre-eminent topic of public attention and public consideration. It is the necessity of the situation—a necessary peculiarity of that period in the national process of life when a nation is about to become a Power on earth.

And in this respect, gentlemen, the instinct of the people is in the life of a nation precisely that which conscience is in the life of man. Before we, in our private life, arrive to a clear conviction of what course we have to adopt in whatever occurrence, the conscience—that inexplicable spirit in our breast—tells us in a pulsation of our heart what is right or what is wrong. And this first pulsation of conscience is always right. Then comes the reflective operation of the mind: it now and then lulls conscience to sleep, now and then modifies particulars, and now and then raises it to the degree of conviction. But conscience was in advance of the mind; and it is always right, because it never stirs without reason, never without necessity. So is the instinct of the people—this conscience of nations. Not the highest intellectual power of individuality can feel offended at the idea that the instinct of the people is always the first to feel the right and wrong. It is the pulsation of the heart of the nation; it is the advertisement of conscience, which never heaves without reason, without necessity. And this reason and this necessity rest within the glorious position of your country, to have grown not as monarchies do, with the top of the pyramid fixed as the foundation of it, but upon the broad basis of democratic liberty and republican principles, to the mighty pyramid of a Power on earth, powerful enough to support, like



a second Atlas, the great vault of the eternal laws of Nature and of Nature's God.

Oh, indeed, gentlemen, it is not my humble presence here which elicited that majestic interest for national law and international rights. No; my very being here is but a consequence of the preëxistence of this interest. It has raised glorious interpreters during the struggles of Greece, when, indeed, I was yet too young to be in public life. It flashed up, kindled at the magnetic spark of Poland's heroic struggles, and it blazed high and broad when we were fighting the sacred battle of independence for the European continent. Had this interest and sympathy not existed long ago, I were not now here. My very freedom is the result of it.

And may I be permitted to mention that there were several concerns quite unconnected with the cause of Hungary, which have much contributed to direct public opinion to feel interested in the question of foreign policy, so naturally connected with the question, What is international law?

Your relations with Mexico and Central America; the threatened intervention of European powers in a possible issue of a recent case which brought so much mourning into many families in the United States; the question about the Sandwich Islands, which European diplomacy appeared to contemplate as an appropriate barrier to be raised between your Pacific States and the Indian and Chinese trade; the sad fate of an American citizen now condemned to the galleys in Africa; and several other considerations of pressing concern must necessarily have contributed to excite the interest of public opinion for the settlement of the question, What is and what shall be law amongst nations?—law not dictated by the whims of ambitious despots, but founded upon everlasting principles, such as republics can acknowledge living and existing themselves upon principles.

Your history was so much a book of life to me, that I was aware of this operation in the public mind of the United States. I knew before my coming hither that the question of, What shall be law amongst nations? mightily interested public opinion here. I knew that the opinion was not only advanced by individuals, but agitated as a political doctrine appropriate to the broad principles upon which your Republic stands. I mean that doctrine that every nation of the world has a right to stand by itself and regulate its own government—its own domestic concerns—and that individuals are not bound to the despot under whose flag they may have had the misfortune to have been born. I knew that the second part of the question—What is international law?—went even so far as to enter into the causes of that war already which was decided by the victory of New Orleans; and I knew that the former part of the question—the national, as I would call it—is brought home to public decision in the United States by being arrived in the process of national life to the very period of a Power on earth, besides the urgency of many particular concerns.

The cause of Hungary, so intimately connected with the doctrines of Europe, in which your country in so many respects is concerned—that cause of Hungary happened to lay within the scope of principles of international law, occupying not only the instinct of the people, but also the calm reflection of your statesmen, conspicuous

by mature wisdom and patriotism; and herein is the key, besides the generosity congenial to freemen, that the cause which I plead is honored with so rapid a progress of public sentiment.

Now, as to these principles: gentlemen, I of course can have nothing to do with whatever interior question or party movements in the United States; and even should any one (of which I am not aware) have the desire to make a political capital, as it is termed here, out of myself, I trust that will not be laid to my charge, I having nothing to do with it. I indeed must humbly entreat not to be identified with a certain foreign gentleman now in the United States as well as myself. My position, gentlemen, is humbly and thankfully to acknowledge sympathy and support, whenever I am honored with it, without identifying myself with whatever question which is not my business at all. And I must be permitted to express my particular gratitude that you, though a political association, bearing the character of a distinct party in relation to your own domestic concerns, were pleased to have the generous delicacy of offering me the benefit of your principal support and the consolation of your sympathy, without placing me in any difficulty inconsistent with my position. I, indeed, most warmly thank you for it.

But it is a duty of honor for me to acknowledge that I met the same generous delicacy also in other quarters bearing a party character different from yours. I consider it a highly valuable benefit that the generous sympathy which I meet with in regard to the cause which I represent is not a party feeling, but a thoroughly American generosity—not only *whig*, not only *democratic*, (as I understand your party denominations to be,) but a *republican*, which I believe is a common character of all citizens of your glorious Union.

However, when I have on the one side nothing to meddle with interior party questions, on the other side no equitable man can charge me with any fault when I declare that I feel infinitely obliged and gratified when I see that those principles of the law of nations which I humbly advocate have found a permanent place upon the platform of great political parties also; and they have found a place there before anybody could have imagined what I considered my humble mission to be. That is a fact, gentlemen, which is so consolatory, so bright with hope to me, that even my sad mind cannot fail to be highly cheered by it.

It remained only to know whether you are inclined to apply those principles to the present particular case also, which my poor downtrodden country, and, in connection with it, the condition of Europe, presents. I was so happy as to get on several occasions the most generous affirmative to this fervent wish of my heart; and I feel infinitely gratified to have met the same favor in your generous toast, and in the generous manner with which it was received. Here, then, I have nothing to do but to thank; and I thank you, gentlemen, with all the sincerity, with all the joy which a downtrodden nation must feel when the sun of resurrection rises in bright glory upon the gloomy horizon of its sufferings. May God, the Almighty, bless you for it!

And let me humbly entreat your permission, for one single moment more. I received, during my brief stay in England, some one hundred and thirty addresses from cities and associations, all full of

the warmest sympathy for my country's cause, which you so generously support. That sympathy was accorded to me, notwithstanding my frank declaration that I am a republican, and that my country, restored to independence, can be nothing else but a republic. Now, indeed, this is a fact gratifying to every friend of progress in the development of public sentiments, highly proving that the people are everywhere honorable, just, noble, and good. And do you know, gentlemen, which of these numerous addresses was the most glorious to the people of England, and the most gratifying to me? It was that in which I heard your Washington praised, and sorrow expressed that it was England which opposed that glorious cause upon which is founded the noble fame of that great man; and it was the addresses—and numerous they were, indeed—in which hope and resolution were expressed; and that England and the United States, forgetting the sorrows of the past, will, indeed, in brotherly love go hand in hand to support the eternal principles of international law and freedom on earth.

Yes, indeed, sir, you were right to say that the justice of your struggle, which took out of England's hand a mighty continent, is openly acknowledged even by the English people itself. The memory of the glorious day of New Orleans must of course recall to your mind the memory of wrongs against which you so gloriously fought. Oh, let me intreat you, bury the hatred of past ages in the grave, where all the crimes of the past lie buried with the mouldering ashes of those who sinned, and take the glorious opportunity to benefit the great cause of humanity.

One thing let me tell you, gentlemen. People and governments are different things in such a country as Great Britain is. It is sorrowful enough that the people have often to pay for what the government sinned. Let it not be said in history that even the people of the United States made a kindred people pay for what its Government sinned. And, remember that you can mightily react upon the public opinion of Britannia, and that the people of Britannia can react upon the course of its own Government. It were, indeed, a great misfortune to see the Government of Great Britain pushed by irritation to side with absolutist powers against the oppressed nations about to struggle for independence and liberty. Even Ireland could only lose by this. And, besides its own loss, this could, perhaps, be just the decisive blow against liberty; whereas the Government of England, let it be as it is, uniting in the direction not to allow foreign interference with our struggles on the continent, would become almost a sure guarantee of the victory of those struggles; and, according as circumstances stand, this would be indeed the most practical benefit to the noble people of Ireland also, because freedom, independence, and the principles of Nature's law could not fail to benefit their own cause, which so well merits the sympathy of every just man; and they have also the sympathy—I know it—of the better half of England itself.

Hatred is no good counsellor, gentlemen. The wisdom of love is a better one. What people has suffered more than my poor Hungary has from Russia? Shall I hate the people of Russia for it? Oh, never! I have but pity and Christian brotherly love for it. It is the Government, it is the principle of the Government, which makes every

drop of my blood boil, and which must fall if humanity shall live. We were for centuries in war against the Turks, and God knows what we have suffered by it! But past is past. Now we have a common enemy, and thus we have a common interest, a mutual esteem, and love rules where our fathers have fought.

Gentlemen, how far this supreme duty for your own interest will allow you to go in giving life and effect to the principle which you so generously proclaim, and your party as I have understood have generously proclaimed in different parts—that you will in your wisdom decide, remaining always the masters of your actions and of your fate. But that principle will rest; that principle is true; that principle is just; and you are just, because you are free. I hope, therefore, to see you cordially unite with me once more in the sentiment—

#### INTERVENTION FOR NON-INTERVENTION.

After the conclusion of M. KOSSUTH'S speech, the President and invited guests returned to their former places, and the following regular toasts were offered:

4. THE MEMORY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON: The author of the Declaration of Independence, and the father of the Democratic party.—[Auld Lang Syne.]

5. OUR COUNTRY: Every year of her national existence more strongly marks the cadence of despotism; and her rising greatness will continue to attract the attention of the patriot and statesman until the laws of nations shall not only be understood, but obeyed.—[Yankee Doodle did it.]

6. OUR NATIONAL ANNIVERSARY, The Fourth of July announced our independence—the Eighth of January saw its accomplishment.—[Hunters of Kentucky.]

7. REPUBLICANISM: An eyesore to despots—a beacon-light to the people.—[Music.]

8. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. A monument of human wisdom—faithful adherence to its delegated authority the sheet-anchor of our hope, and the surest guarantee of its preservation.—[Star-Spangled Banner.]

9. OUR FOREIGN POLICY: "We ask for nothing that is not clearly right, and submit to nothing that is wrong."—[Music.]

✓ 10. NON-INTERVENTION: A wrong principle in our political system when despots are waging unholy war against Liberty!—[Music.]

11. THE PRESS: So identified with freedom, that they perish together.—[Music.]

12. THE UNION OF THE DEMOCRACY: Essential to success, and best effected by oblivion of past differences.—[Music.]

13. THE FAIR WHO HONOR OUR FEAST: In the presence of the Heroine of Hungary, we acknowledge a union dearer than all others—one that survives the catastrophe of States, and gives solace to the martyr in his prison.

The following toasts from the Committee of Arrangements were then read by the President, and repeated by B. B. FRENCH, Esq.:



Hon. WILLIAM R. KING: The faithful Senator and the accomplished gentleman—may he long continue in the public service, and his declining years be as peaceful as his public services have been useful.

Hon. W. R. KING being called for, it was stated that he had been detained by indisposition. The following letter was then read:

SENATE CHAMBER, January 6, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: Devoted as I have ever been to the principles of the Democratic party, a personal and political friend of that great and good man, Andrew Jackson, whose memory should be cherished by every true patriot of the land, it will afford me sincere pleasure (if my health will permit) to unite with my fellow-citizens of the Jackson Democratic Association in their celebration of the glorious eighth of January—a day on which a republican soldiery, led on by the hero Jackson, prostrated the disciplined corps of England, and terminated our second war of independence in a blaze of glory.

I have the honor to be, your fellow-citizen,

WM. R. KING.

To J. D. Hoover, F. P. Blair, and others, Committee.

Hon. LINN BOYD, the Speaker of the House of Representatives: The legislative history of the country is the monument of his character.

Hon. LINN BOYD being called for, it was announced that he was also indisposed.

The next toast:

Hon. LEWIS CASS: A distinguished statesman and patriot—the man who frustrated the Quintuple treaty. His name is intimately associated with the history of his country, and the Democratic party honor the man.

Mr. CASS, on rising to respond to the toast, was received with loud and long-continued cheering.

Mr. C. said: Fellow-citizens, it is a task imposed upon any one to follow after the splendid address which you have just heard from our noble guest, equally marked by the best characteristics of the head and of the heart. I shall, therefore, impose upon your patience but for a few moments. In the first place, fellow-citizens, I thank you for this testimonial of your approbation. I have long been a laborer in the Democratic party. I have served in it during the better portion of a long life, and I mean to serve in it cheerfully and zealously until my days on earth are ended. [Great cheering.] I am one of the very few now surviving who were appointed to office by that patriarch of our political faith, Thomas Jefferson. [Cheers.] His word, his approbation, is warrant enough for any man's democracy, [great cheering,] and I feel, my fellow-citizens, that it is warrant enough for mine. [Renewed cheering.] But I did not come here to talk about myself. You did not come here to listen to any such topic. You came here for higher considerations, connected with the interests, feelings, policy, and progress of the Democratic party. It is about that party that we want to talk. Now, my fellow-citizens, the prin-

ciples of our party lie within a very narrow compass. He who runs may read them, and he who reads may comprehend them. The ability of man to govern himself, the right to govern himself, and the duty of submitting to the constitutionally expressed opinion of the majority—these are the fundamental principles of our faith. [Cheers.] In these is the whole of the law and the prophets. [Cheers.] Yes, my fellow-citizens, the right of man and the capacity of man to govern himself lie at the very foundation of the glorious institutions of our country, [renewed cheering,] and there are some, I trust, who now hear me, who are young enough to live to see this doctrine practically prevail throughout the world. [Great cheering.]

It has been well asked, if man cannot govern himself, who can govern him? Or, in the emphatic language of Mr. Jefferson, "have we found angels in the shape of men to govern us?" We do not believe that God has anointed any man to rule over his fellows. [Great cheering.] That is a question of internal policy, and not of religious faith. Still we are no propagandists. We maintain that every country in the world has the right to establish and to change its own institutions at its own pleasure. We are all of us aware that all the nations of the world are not yet prepared for such institutions as ours. But all of them are prepared for better ones than they enjoy. It has been well remarked by our illustrious guest, that *infancy precedes youth and youth precedes manhood*. No one should expect that the severity of the despotism of centuries can give way at once to the freedom we enjoy. But the path of man is onward. The road may be through trial and suffering; but every trial and suffering furnishes a lesson the more, and the hour will come, in God's good time, when all will be free.

Fellow-citizens, though we are no propagandists, though we allow every nation, and wish every nation, to determine its own government for itself, we do wish, and as far as we can with propriety, we mean to insist, that every nation shall be permitted to exercise its own pleasure in its own internal concerns. [Great cheering.] We do not care if it is the Russian Czar, or who it is, that stands in the way, but we say let every people determine that question for themselves, and keep your hands off. [Renewed cheering.] I believe that to be the almost universal sentiment of the American people. [Loud and continued cheering.]

Now, fellow-citizens, to return to the condition of our own country, for almost four fifths of the time that this Constitution and Government have been in operation, it has been administered by the Democratic party; and what has that party done? We began with three millions of people, a little strip of territory along the Atlantic coast, and a few settlements beyond the Alleghany mountains; now we have got a world within our boundaries. I need not tell you of our increase in numbers, in territory, in power, in all the elements of prosperity, for it is written upon the heart of every American. We have added territory to our country, and who has done it? Every one of the annexations made to this Republic has been made by the men and the measures of the Democratic party. [Cheers.] Aye, my friends, our party have carried this country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and have made it a power that, I will not say governs the world, but a power that will have a

controlling influence over the destinies of the world. And more than that; we have not only made every one of these annexations, but every one of them has been opposed by our political opponents. [Cheers.]

The Democratic party needs no eulogist, and least of all, so feeble a one as I am. Its deeds constitute its best eulogium. And I believe that such is now a very general sentiment with the American people. I believe that from one end of the country to the other the conviction is nearly unanimous, that we may expect the next year a change in the administration of the government. [Great cheering.] I believe I shall vote for it myself, [renewed cheering:] and in this state of things, with a motive and necessity for union and exertion, it is the duty of all to labor zealously and efficiently for the good of the party, and especially is it the duty of every one to submit with cheerfulness to its will, when once expressed. Whoever has aspirations for any place high or low, or whoever has friends that urge his pretensions—and such hopes make part of our nature, and are liable to no censure—I repeat, whoever entertains them should bow with submission to the will of the majority; and if he succeed, should evince his gratitude by a faithful discharge of his duty: and if he fail, he should then enter the Democratic vineyard as a faithful laborer, and work in the good cause till the end, [great cheering]—work zealously, and with an earnest will, proving thereby that if he does not deserve the office, he deserves the approbation of every true Democrat, for his adhesion to the principles of the party. Such have been my creed and my course, and such will they continue to be so long as I am able to go forth with you to our party contests. [Cheers.] And I am sure that I shall be joined in this sentiment by the hearty approbation of the whole Democratic party. [Loud cheers.]

It is good for us to be here. The Eighth of January is a good time, and Jackson Hall a good place, for the Democracy to meet, to interchange congratulations upon the condition of the party, and to renew their fealty to its principles and its faith. [Cheers.] It is a good day, for it is the anniversary of one of the most splendid victories recorded in the annals of history—of a victory not for conquest, but for defence—achieved by the yeomanry of the country over a veteran and disciplined army. That yeomanry, unskilled in arms, uninstructed in discipline, and unprepared by their habits for the confinement of a camp, met and drove back to the sea one of the proudest armies that ever went forth from England—veteran soldiers who had acquired skill and renown on many a battle field in Europe. [Great cheering.] It was a lesson teaching all the world the danger of invading a free people attached to their institutions, and determined to maintain them. [Renewed cheering.]

It is a good place, for it is Jackson Hall—named from him who led his countrymen to battle and to victory on that eventful day. I knew him well. Few knew him better than I did. It is the pride of my life to have enjoyed his confidence. I shall cherish his memory with a sad and sacred pleasure till I lie in my grave. [Great cheering.] I have dealt much with human nature, and under all circumstances, in the four quarters of the globe; but never did I meet a man of such intui-

tive judgment, of such clear sagacity, of such pure probity, of such unerring intellect, as he whose memory we admire and deplore. [Great cheering.] He was one of those few men whom Providence seems to raise up for special purposes in the affairs of nations, and to stamp their character upon the history of the world. Of all the men with whom I have been brought in contact, he was the wisest and the greatest. [Enthusiastic applause.] I will take this opportunity of doing justice to one of his most prominent characteristics. He has been called a rash man; but he was as far from that as firmness is from rashness. He never hastily determined upon any great measure. He weighed the whole circumstances, with calm deliberation, and turned and returned them in his mind until he arrived at his conclusions. He has told me that, during this process of consideration, when the subject was an important one, it so weighed upon him as to deprive him of sleep and rest, almost absorbing his whole thoughts. But when he had reached his conclusion, and formed his determination, his difficulty was over. He looked neither to the right hand nor the left, neither halting nor doubting, but went straight onward to his mark.

And thus he went straight onward to the Bank of the United States, and overthrew it. [Cheers.] And had he not done so, we might this day be under the government of that worst of all powers—a money power. [Loud cheers.] It may not be unfitting the time and place to notice here the reports which have lately been in circulation, that he did not write his own proclamation, and hardly knew what was in it. Little do they know him, who believe such a libel as this! That proclamation was his own work. *I speak that I do know.* There was not a sentiment in it which he did not carefully consider and approve. Owing to the imperfection of language, a more extended construction may have been given to some portions of it than he intended to give himself. A large part was the work of his own hand. I saw the manuscript with my own eyes. [Loud cheers.] And he who believes that Andrew Jackson followed the lead of any one, either in counsel or in action, did not know the man whom Providence, in its kindness, sent to preside over his country. [Loud and long-continued cheering.]

The next toast:

Hon. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS: A noble specimen of the younger Democracy; the architect of his own fortune, he never will forget first principles.

Mr. DOUGLAS rose, and was greeted with hearty applause. He spoke as follows:

Gentlemen, what shall I say? What can I say after our illustrious guest has exhausted one branch of the subject, and my distinguished friend from Michigan has said all that was appropriate to be said upon the other? Yet we have assembled here to-night on an occasion that inspires every Democrat with feelings of pride in connection with that great political party in this country with which we are identified. The day not only presents to the mind a great event in the annals of our national history, but it brings before us more immediately the character of a man who has made a greater impress upon our institutions than any man who has ever lived, if we except the Father of his



Country. [Great cheering.] No man has ever existed upon the American continent since the days of Jefferson who was so perfect and truthful an exponent of Democratic principles as was Andrew Jackson. [Cheers.] He was a great military man. The battle of New Orleans proved him to be a hero; but his acts as a statesman were as far superior to anything that he ever performed upon the field of battle as the sun is more brilliant than the moon! [Cheers.] It is Andrew Jackson as a politician, Andrew Jackson as a statesman, Andrew Jackson as a Democrat that we have assembled here this night for the purpose of honoring, and of keeping fresh in our memories all the attributes that pertained to him in that character. But, gentlemen, I am not going to detain you with a eulogy upon Andrew Jackson. Let his own history be written, and no man will be able to write a eulogy upon him. [Cheers.]

Gentlemen, this is a festival of the Democratic Association. It is not out of place, therefore, upon this occasion to indulge in remarks which may be considered of a partisan nature. Yet I would say nothing that could not be verified by the truth of history. The distinguished gentleman from Michigan has said truly, that every acquisition that has been made to the United States has been accomplished by the Democratic party under Democratic administrations! [Cheers.] Louisiana, Florida, Texas, California—every inch of ground that we have acquired has been the result not only of the principles, but of the action of the Democratic party. [Cheers.] Each and all of those measures were strenuously opposed by our political opponents upon principle—they taking the ground distinctly that our territory is already too large for any one system of government. Their policy seems to have been always in perfect harmony with the principles of their party—that is, retrograding, instead of progressing; for they assumed the ground that the country was too large, and therefore no additions should be made to it. Mr. Madison, in defence of the Constitution of the United States, said that no country was too large to be embraced under one Republic, which would enable the representatives to assemble, perform their official duties, return to their constituents, and, after arranging their private affairs, resume their public duties during the same year. Rapid as has been our growth, and wide as has been our expansion, yet the advance of science, of the mechanic arts, the means of intercommunication, the spread of intelligence, have been far more rapid than has been our increase either of territory or population! [Great applause.] Young as I am, as your toast would indicate, I have seen the time when I congratulated myself upon making a very quick trip if I could go from Washington to my residence in three weeks; and now I lament my misfortune if it takes me four days to accomplish that same journey. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, you could make the trip to Georgia in about forty days; now it takes nearly two thirds of that time to go to California; and when a railroad shall have been made direct to the Pacific, as it will be under a Democratic administration, it will take nearly five days to make the trip! [Applause.] I allude to the progress in science and the mechanic arts in connection with the means of communication for the purpose of showing that, no matter how rapid may be our growth, or how wide may be the ex-

pansion of our territory, our country will never be too large for one Republic, even if we should include the entire Continent. [Great applause.] I find that in my expressions I have been rather loose and vague. When I speak of our country being well adapted to an ocean-bound republic, of course I mean to include the islands on this side of the main channel of the two great seas. [Tremendous applause.]

Mr. President, our system of government is as well adapted to the entire continent as it was to the space occupied by the original thirteen States, provided Democratic principles are strictly and religiously observed in the administration of the Government. The great conservative and renovating principle in our institutions is the rights of the States. If State rights are observed and respected—if the Federal Government is confined within its legitimate limits—if the reserved rights of the States and the people are held sacred—there can be no danger resulting from the indefinite extension and increase of these States. [Great applause.] Why, sir, my friend before me [Mr. Cass] well recollects when there was no State west of the range of the Alleghany mountains; and the prevailing sentiment was, that that range constituted such a barrier that it was impossible even for Ohio and New York to belong to the same confederation. And yet every State that has been added to this Union in the Northwest has been a band of iron to hold the States together. [Applause.]

I am by no means certain but that the sectional strife, jealousy, and ambition engendered between the North and the South would ere this have dissolved this glorious Union had it not been for the Great West. There she stands with an intelligent and patriotic population, born in about equal numbers in each of the great geographical divisions of the Union, with her trade flowing down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, and down the great chain of lakes, and over the numerous lines of railroads and canals to the Atlantic, and with her fervent affection for friends, for kindred, and for native land, binding her with equal tenacity to the North and to the South. [Applause.] How can such a Union ever be dissolved? [Tremendous applause.] The North and South may quarrel and wrangle about a question which should never enter the halls of Congress; but the Great West will say to the South, you must not leave us; and to the North, you must faithfully observe the Constitution—with all its compromises. [Continued applause.]

Mr. President, I repeat, therefore, that every new State added to the Union, and every one which shall be admitted into its bosom, adds new guarantees for the perpetuity of the Union, so long as the Constitution is faithfully observed, and the rights of the States are protected under the guardianship of Democratic administrations. [Great applause.]

Mr. President, we have much to do. The Democracy have a mission to perform. It is the great mission of progress in the arts and sciences—in the science of politics and government—in the development and advancement of human rights throughout the whole world. [Applause.] We have a mission to perform in developing correct principles here; for, although the Democracy have done much—have done everything that has been

done by way of the advancement, elevation, and improvement of the political system of this country—still we have not accomplished everything.

A system of laws that was adapted to our condition twenty-five years ago, must, in the nature of things and the progress of events, be inapplicable now in many respects. The man is not consistent who supports a question of expediency now merely because he advocated it a quarter of a century ago; for, if it was wise then, the probabilities are that the change of circumstances in the development of our resources has rendered it inexpedient and unwise at this time. The man is only consistent who follows out his principles and adapts his measures to them in view of the condition of things he finds in existence at the period of time when it is necessary to make the application. [Great applause.] Hence I care not if a man says I have been inconsistent upon a measure of expediency, provided he will admit that I have always been faithful to my principles, and regulated all questions of expediency by them. Measures of policy are in their nature temporary, and liable to be abandoned whenever the necessity ceases which called them into existence; but Democratic principles are immutable, and can never die so long as freedom survives. [Great applause.] Hence the man who imagines that the triumph of the Democratic party at any Presidential election places its principles permanently in the ascendancy, labors under a fatal delusion. We must observe eternal vigilance. The Democratic principle is eternal, and perpetual action and undying energy are requisite to give it force and to carry it into effect. It requires harmony, energy, and unity of action now as much as at any former period of our political history. It is required both in reference to domestic questions and to our foreign policy. I think it is time that America had a foreign policy—[applause and cries of "Good! Good!"]—a foreign policy predicated upon a true interpretation of the laws of nations—a foreign policy in accordance with the spirit of the age—[great applause]—but not such a foreign policy as we have seen attempted to be enforced in this country within the last three years. [Cries of "Good! Good!"] We have been told, and you are told every day, that neutrality is the true American policy; and that plea has been the excuse for the acts which have been performed by the existing Administration in connection with the Cuban question. [Great applause.] They employ the American Navy and Army to arrest the volunteers and seize the provisions, ammunition and supplies of every kind which may be sent in aid of the patriot cause, and at the same time give free passage and protection to all men, ammunition, and supplies which may be sent in aid of the royalist cause, and call that NEUTRALITY! [Great applause.] If I am engaged in a struggle for my life with a foe that is about to crush me, what do I care whether you furnish him with a club with which to beat out my brains, or seize the weapon from my hands with which I was about to defend myself? If they would propose to stop men and supplies on both sides, or open the door wide, and give free egress and ingress to both, I could then understand what they mean by neutrality. [Cries of "Good! Good!"] But this modern neutrality—that which denounces an American

citizen as an outlaw and a pirate, and authorizes any Government into whose hands he may fall to execute him without the forms of a trial, simply because he was going to wage war in what he believed truly to be the cause of liberty—I do not distinctly understand. The doctrine prevails, too, that, because we have a statute that prohibits the fitting out of armed expeditions against other countries with which we are at peace, and because that statute imposes a penalty for its violation, therefore the Executive branch of the Government is authorized to denounce the offender as being guilty of piracy, when your own law has declared it to be only a misdemeanor. [Great applause.] And because it was proclaimed piracy, we find the Spanish Government has acted upon that proclamation, and executed fifty American citizens in one day, without the forms of trial, and in palpable violation of solemn treaty stipulations entered into between the United States and Spain. [Applause.]

Mr. President, I will not occupy your time in presenting a bill of indictment against the present Administration and the Whig party. It is no part of my present purpose. They will soon be on trial before the sovereign people, and we well know what the verdict will be. [Great applause.] I have only alluded to these things incidentally, for the purpose of showing that the Democracy have work on hand—have a duty to perform; and hence that we should be prepared for the performance of that duty. [Great applause.] The distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. Cass] has told you that the next President is to be a Democratic President. I believe that it is the will of Providence and the will of the people also. [Great applause.] But we should remember that the Democracy are never in so great peril as when we do not dream of the least danger. Our opponents never achieved a victory except by means of our own divisions, or when they lulled us to sleep and threw us off our guard, under the expectation of our triumph. Let the Democracy be united, firm, and vigilant, and then we can bid defiance to our political opponents, and insure a triumph that will be full of valuable results when it shall be achieved. I care not for a mere victory in the election of a man, unless it is an entire, complete triumph of our principles. How is this to be accomplished? By rallying upon the old Democratic platform, and refusing to be seduced by any hypocritical pretences of danger to the Union that require an unnatural amalgamation with our opponents. [Great applause.] The Democratic party is as good a Union party as I desire. [Cries of "Good!" "Good!"] The Democratic party is the only Union party—it is the only party that can preserve the Union, [great applause,] because our principles are the only principles that are consistent with the existence and perpetuity of the Union. [Here three cheers were given.] If Democratic principles had been strictly adhered to, and had prevailed, the Union would have never been in danger. If the Whigs, by their unholy combinations, had not wrested the power temporarily from the hands of the Democrats, the Union would never have been put in jeopardy, and they could not have claimed the glory of having aided us in having rescued it from that destruction which was the legitimate result of their own acts and principles. [Tremendous



applause.] When the Whigs come to me and say, Let us form a Union party; I say to them, But for you, the necessity for such a party could never have existed. [Continued applause.] They must not make an unholy alliance with Abolitionists, and thereby put the Union in peril, and then call on me to abandon the time-honored principles of the Democracy, and join them in perpetuating a federal dynasty under the pretext of loving the Union. [Three hearty cheers were here given.]

Mr. President, if the Union was ever in danger, it is now safe in anticipation of a complete triumph of the Democratic party at the next election. [Applause.] We have only to be true to our country, to our principles, and to our party organization, and an easy victory awaits us. Let us rally the Democratic party upon the old issues—upon the old Baltimore platform. [Long and continued applause.] Let the Democracy of Jefferson, of Jackson, of Polk be our standard of Democracy. [Great and vehement applause.]

Mr. President, I fear that I have already trespassed too long on your patience. [Cries of "Go on!" "Go on!"] I ought to have made a short speech; and had I received notice that I would have been called upon to respond to a toast so complimentary to myself, I would have taken time to have arranged my thoughts sufficiently to have made you a short speech. But your kindness and partiality have forced me upon the stand in the midst of the enthusiasm produced by the magic eloquence of the illustrious Hungarian, and the patriotic sentiments of my distinguished friend from Michigan; and after they have exhausted the material from which speeches should be made, I have been left to pick up, here and there, the pieces of driftwood which might be found floating upon the current, and form and mould them into something which I trust will not be deemed inappropriate to the occasion. [Great applause.]

In conclusion, I will be permitted to say, that this day has been, as the Eighth of January always should be, a glorious day for the Democracy. It is the most brilliant entertainment I have ever witnessed in the capital of this great Republic. Honored by the presence and smiles of the ladies, and animated by those patriotic sentiments which the occasion is so well calculated to inspire, the Democratic Association have reason to feel proud of their banquet.

Mr. Douglas resumed his seat amid the most hearty and enthusiastic cheering.

At the conclusion of the remarks of Mr. DOUGLAS, Governor KOSSUTH and *suite* left the hall.

The following toast was then offered:

General SAM HOUSTON: The personal and political friend of Andrew Jackson. By his patriotism and bravery, a new star has been added to the galaxy of States.

General HOUSTON being called for, it was announced by the President that he would be unable to address the Association, as he had been called away from the hall by indisposition.

General JOSEPH LANE: We honor the man for his patriotism, heroism, and devotion to Democratic principles.

General LANE, on taking the speaker's stand, was greeted with three enthusiastic cheers, and responded as follows:

GENTLEMEN: I am very proud of this occasion to meet so many of my Democratic friends. Nothing has occurred for many years that is more gratifying to me than this pleasure of meeting so many of the Democracy of the country upon an occasion like this—upon the 8th of January; for, let me say, this is the first 8th of January I have seen in the States since the commencement of the Mexican war.

It is a pleasure to meet the Democracy of the country upon any occasion; but more especially when that occasion is to do honor to the memory of the illustrious dead—the hero of the battle of New Orleans—the great soldier and the enlightened statesman.

I am also gratified to be here for the exceeding pleasure it has afforded me to hear the illustrious Hungarian—our honored guest. He made a most glorious speech in a most glorious cause—the cause not only of his own Hungary, but the cause of constitutional liberty throughout the world. He was followed by the distinguished Senator from Michigan, [Gen. CASS,] whose life has been spent in the vindication and advocacy of Democratic principles, and who, by his eminent talents and high statesmanship as our Minister at the Court of Paris, contributed so largely to raise our country in the estimation of the world. The storms of many winters have passed over his head, and his democracy, always reliable, has been tempered by experience. As my friend beside me well remarked, his capacious mind exhausted the subject. And then came forward the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. DOUGLAS,] who, though young, is nevertheless a "giant" in the cause. Now, after these eloquent and able speeches from these distinguished gentlemen, I cannot hope to say anything new or interesting to you.

I will say, however, that I would like to extend to others the principles of our Government; and after they have become independent and free, I would, by annexation, throw around them our protection. Then let any Russian Power say these people should not enjoy liberty and equal rights, and the voice of this people, from one end of the nation to the other, would thunder out, in the language of the illustrious Jackson, "By the Eternal, they shall be free." [Cheers.]

Gentlemen, as this appears to be a social Democratic gathering, where each is called upon to give in his experience, [laughter,] as the representative of the Far West, I would say to you that the cause of Democracy there is onward and upward. You are all aware that I was sent out by the lamented Polk to the very extreme of the country to establish a government. I went out in a democratic way, and when I arrived there I had the pleasure to find a democratic population. I found that on the Pacific side of the mountains, Democracy prevailed and flourished. And when this country was tossed by the tempest of sectional strife and agitation—when we saw the illustrious patriot before me, (General Cass,) and Douglas, Clay,

Houston, Webster, and other friends of the country, regardless of political prejudices, struggling to bring about a compromise of the exciting questions, the united prayer of the people of Oregon went up to Heaven that their labors would be crowned with success and the Union preserved. And, gentlemen, it should be a matter of congratulation to us, as patriots and as Democrats, that a just, honorable, constitutional, and final settlement has been effected. [Cheers.]

My friend Judge Douglas has said of the spread of Democracy that the institutions of our country have not stopped their progress. Gentlemen, they know no limit. They must and will be extended to the people of this continent at least, and, in the lapse of time, they will be extended to Hungary. I regret that it is otherwise to-day. If it could be possibly done, I would say *now*. But so far as this continent is concerned, if it would benefit them and advantage us, as I believe it would, the day is not far distant when we can truly say with the poet,

"The whole boundless continent is ours." [Cheers.]

We are now upon the Far West; we can go no further. Many would regret that the coast did not extend two thousand miles further, that our institutions might be extended over them. [Laughter.] They will be extended to the islands, and ultimately, I trust, they will be extended over the whole world. Democracy is progressive, our republican institutions are progressive, and they must prevail, for they are adapted to the happiness of man. "The Queen of the Gulf" is *almost* ours already. I have lived fifty years—and I see no reason why I should not live fifty more, [laughter]—and I have seen this republic prosper and spread from thirteen States until it now embraces thirty-one free and sovereign States, peopled by an intelligent and patriotic population. Its strides are still onward!

Gentlemen, before we again assemble around the social board to celebrate another 8th of January, we will be called upon to elect a President of the United States. That President must be a Democrat. [Cheers.] But a union of the Democracy is necessary to secure this end. May I be allowed to express my fervent hope, that let the nomination fall upon whomsoever it may—whether it is the illustrious Senator from Michigan, whose enlarged patriotism and experience so eminently fit him for the station, or the gallant Butler, of Kentucky, or my friend from Illinois, "the young Democrat," or any other Democrat, every Democrat in the country, from Maine to Texas, will give him a most hearty and cordial support.

I have had the honor in my life of voting three times for General Jackson, twice for Mr. Van Buren, and once for Mr. Polk. In 1848 I was not in the country, and things went wrong. [Great laughter.] But the fact that things went wrong in '48, is the very reason they should go right in '52. [Cheers.] I trust that we shall enter the campaign united, with all our differences healed, and each Democrat emulating his fellow-Democrat in the noble rivalry as to who will do most for the cause. The time—the occasion—our duty to our country and to posterity—everything, conspire to proclaim, "A UNION OF THE DEMOCRACY FOR THE SAKE OF THE UNION." [Cheers.]

Gentlemen, I had intended to be brief. I am not in the habit of public speaking; but when I see the Democracy turn out in the numbers they have flocked here to-night, and evince the enthusiasm that pervades this assembly, I cannot be silent. But I have said enough, and will not longer trespass upon your patience.

General LANE had previously written to the committee the following letter:

WASHINGTON CITY, December 19, 1851.

GENTLEMEN: Your note of the 13th instant, inviting me to a festival at Jackson Hall, on the 8th of January next, to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, has been received.

It will give me great pleasure, gentlemen, to participate with you on that occasion in doing honor to the memory of the illustrious hero of that day, who, in whatever situation placed, and to whatever station called, was still the same unflinching patriot and pure statesman, whose sword protected the country from foreign invasion, and whose counsels make good his motto, "The Union must be preserved."

Allow me to add, gentlemen, that I deeply sympathize with you in the hope you express that the time, the place, and the occasion, will have a propitious effect in bringing about the harmony and union of the great Democratic family. Our motto should be, "The union of the Democracy for the sake of the Union."

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, with great respect, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH LANE.

Messrs. J. D. Hoover and others, Committee.

General HENRY DODGE: The best specimen of the western pioneer: As a soldier, farmer, and Senator, he makes good their motto—"Up to anything."

Mr. A. C. DODGE rose and said:

I am requested to say, in behalf of the individual who has been so highly honored by the sentiment just given, and which has been so enthusiastically received, that he feels profoundly grateful to the Jackson Democratic Association for the very kind and complimentary manner in which they have been pleased to allude to him. He remained until quite a late hour, expecting to have the pleasure of making his acknowledgments in person; but, suffering from the effects of a severe cold, was constrained to leave. He, however, yields to no created man in devotion to the faith of Jefferson and Jackson; nor is there one in our widely-extended Republic who entertains a more sincere and heartfelt sympathy for our illustrious Guest and his cause than the person for whom I speak. That sympathy and that devotion will be shown, as he prefers to show all things—by action rather than words. The sentiment which I read was placed in my hands as he left the room, to be offered in his name:

By HENRY DODGE:

OUR DISTINGUISHED GUEST, LOUIS KOSUTH: May the God of Battles grant that on some future Eighth of January he may as successfully beat back and trample under foot the invaders of Hungary as did the immortal Jackson this day thirty-seven years ago the British on the plains of New Orleans. [Applause.]



Allow me, whilst on the stand, to offer you a sentiment of my own—one expressive of the delight and gratification experienced by the humble Democrat who now stands before you:

**THE MEMBERS OF THE JACKSON DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION:** I never had the pleasure of meeting them before, and, from the manner in which they have acquitted themselves on this occasion, I never expect to hear of their being behind. [Laughter and applause.]

Three cheers were given for "DODGE."

The following toasts were then given:

**General WILLIAM O. BUTLER:** A stripling educated in the Hero's tent—the snows of Canada, the sands of Florida, the plains of New Orleans, and the heights of Monterey bear witness how well he learned his lesson.

**Hon. R. F. STROCKTON:** May his civil life be as successful as his naval has been brilliant; and should he ever find the ship of State on a lee-shore, he will prove a useful hand in working her off.

**General F. PIERCE,** of New Hampshire: A Democrat of the Jackson school—always prepared to peril his life to "preserve the Union" or vindicate the honor of his country.

**Hon. R. M. T. HUNTER:** The honored Senator of the mother of States and Statesmen; may he follow in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessors.

**The WASHINGTON UNION:** The able and faithful defender of republican principles and Jacksonian Democracy: May its efforts to restore fraternal feelings between the North and the South, in maintaining the Union of the States, and by upholding the time-honored organization of the Democratic party, be rewarded with that success which its patriotic zeal and eminent ability so well deserve.

**Mr. DONELSON** responded as follows:

**GENTLEMEN:** Allow me to express to you my sincere thanks for the compliment paid to the *Washington Union*. The warm reception given to it heightens its value, and is an assurance that the sentiment which dictates it is not a mere form. But, gentlemen, neither myself nor those associated with me in the conduct of the "*Union*" can fail to recognize that much of the consideration extended to us on this occasion is due rather to the cause in which we are engaged than to our merit in advocating it. It is because you believe that we are sincerely devoted to the cause, and that your feelings are as indulgent as this cause is patriotic, great, and just, that you extend to the *Washington Union* so large a share of your applause. Allow me to say that we thank you, and shall derive from the enthusiasm which prevails here to-night encouragement to pursue the labors which you are pleased to consider as not without good effect in contributing to the reunion of the Democratic party.

Gentlemen, the name which your association bears is of itself an incentive to those charged with the *Washington Union* never to flag in the support of the principles of the Democratic party. That name can never be uttered in my presence without awakening recollections which are of themselves sufficient to point both my mind and heart to the

duties which are called for in the service of the party which is so gloriously connected with the past history of our Government, and has done so much to elevate the principle of popular sovereignty. Andrew Jackson was the guardian of my youth. It was from him that I received the means of education, and the intimacy and confidence thus commenced never terminated until his death. Two years his aid-de-camp whilst he was in the Army, eight years his family companion before his election to the Presidency, his private secretary during the whole period of his Administration, and afterwards his nearest neighbor until he was withdrawn by Providence from the scene of his worldly action, I certainly had opportunities to know him, to study those remarkable traits of character which enabled him to accomplish so much for his country, and to impress upon its history so much of his own individuality. These circumstances, gentlemen, are adverted to to show you what are the ties which connect the *Washington Union* with the character and fame of the great man whose brilliant achievement at New Orleans we are now commemorating, and whose services as a statesman in the Democratic cause give to your association a political significance scarcely inferior to that which would belong to one bearing the name of Washington, the Father of his Country. These ties are a guarantee that the columns of our journal will never be the medium of an influence which would be unjust to his memory, and that his opinions, actions, and principles will be explained and vindicated whenever their application can be deemed useful to the country—not with the dull formality of the mere observer of public affairs, but with the enthusiasm inspired by personal and grateful friendship, and the convictions belonging to a practical acquaintance with his conduct and character.

Leaving, gentlemen, the train of thought suggested by the honor paid to the *Washington Union*, my mind naturally turns to the great Hungarian, whose presence here on this occasion calls out so many of the noble impulses of our nature. My memory runs back to the period when the good and patriotic Lafayette was the guest of the Hermitage during his visit to Tennessee. How appropriate is it that Kossuth—who represents the same sacred principle—should now be the guest of the association bearing the name of Jackson, and inscribing on its banner the cause of that democracy, which Lafayette and Kossuth in Europe, and Jackson here, have so nobly illustrated! The man is gone, but the fruits of his life remain, and are offered to Kossuth as they were to Lafayette, and as they will be to the millions who are to come after us.

In the interval between the visit of Lafayette and Kossuth our country has greatly extended, and the principle which gives life to its institutions has expanded, until it begins to come more directly in contact with Europe. It is true that Lafayette could not transplant it in France when he went back from our land, but the effort to do so produced the revolution which ultimately secured a written constitution, acknowledging the supremacy of the popular will; and although this constitution has in its turn given way, and the French people seem again to be enchaind by a tyrant, yet the memory of what has been done remains, and this momentary despotism may be but the form in

which liberty will make a new step in its progress to those principles which Lafayette learned in this country. Let us hope that our noble guest may be more fortunate, and that, as in the order of time, he stands on our soil when its free institutions have a wider circumference, he will find the distance between them and the struggling efforts of Europe not so great as it was in Lafayette's day; let us hope that the darkness which now seems to be deepening over the downtrodden cause of his country's independence is the signal of the near approach of the breaking day; that the expanding power of democracy, which it is the object, gentlemen, of this association to guard and cherish, may be just now ready to throw its influence upon that darkness, and that the combinations of despotism will disappear before it like the mists of the morning before the great luminary which God has hung in the heavens. Let us hope, gentlemen, that what was weak in the day of Lafayette may be now strong—strong enough to reveal to the world that neither nations nor individuals can escape the laws which condemn oppression, and urge on man to the recovery of the rights which he has derived from his Creator—and that Kossuth may go back to Europe the messenger of glad tidings, as the inspired John was when he announced the advent of our Saviour, and proclaimed the way in which there would be peace on earth and good will to men.

Among the circumstances which induce me to cherish this hope is the great fact that Hungary understands the necessity of municipal freedom as the foundation of the political building intended to be occupied by her people. Institutions built on any other foundation produce only centralization and despotism. Here lies the secret of our American liberty: and if this secret is once comprehended in Europe, what has been heretofore treated as an American monopoly will become the common inheritance of the world. It is municipal freedom, local independence, State rights, which constitute the only safe democracy; and until they are understood it will be in vain that France and Germany will declare that they have written constitutions and representative principles. Without these local rights, which first fix liberty in the individual, there can be no political safety in the government. Man must first learn what he owes his fellow-man before he can understand that the use of government is to protect individual freedom; and he can only learn this by the fireside of his parents. Having learnt this, the meetings, clubs, leagues, and assemblies which he resorts to are the instruments of freedom. If he has not learnt this, they become the instruments of despotism. It is because we have learnt this in America that our excitements do not terminate in anarchy, nor differences of opinion into disorder—that individual toleration is national restraint and safety.

Let me say to our noble guest, that in telling us about the ideas which prevail in Hungary respecting municipal independence, he has done more to inspire us with hope in his mission than France has ever done with all her boasted achievements in dethroning her Bourbons and installing her Bonapartes. It does more: it satisfies us that the day is near at hand when despotism will be banished from the world. If the tree of the life of this principle has taken root in Hungary, that is

enough. America will contribute to its growth by her example, and if need be by labors of a more generous and active nature, especially if that example is denied its legitimate influence. The lights of America must not be hid under a bushel—they must shine out on the mountain tops of civilization, so that the world may see and profit by them.

Before sitting down and quitting this soul-stirring subject, allow me to say that I wish to bring again to the attention of the association the name of the great American apostle of liberty, who was the first to signalize conspicuously the fact that the freedom of America depended on the preservation of this principle of municipal independence or State rights. Let us remember him on this occasion, and renew our fealty to State rights by commending his philosophy to our noble Hungarian, and by the assurance we will thus give that the doctrines and services of Jackson contain nothing incompatible with the most jealous care of these rights.

I give you, gentlemen—Thomas Jefferson, the statesman who has most happily illustrated the doctrine of State rights, and exposed the dangers which belong to the opposite doctrines of consolidation and centralization.

At the conclusion of Mr. D's. remarks, three cheers were given.

Mr. A. C. DODGE. Mr. President and Gentlemen, a toast has just been placed in my hands. It is sent to me by my friend Capt. Isaac W. Griffith, who stands on the opposite side of the table. I beg in his name to present it to you, and to say of him that whatever his sentiment may imply, he is a man who feels what he says, and who will act up to it. His scarred and mutilated person attest that fact. He was a volunteer from the State of Iowa, in our late glorious war with Mexico—was in the front ranks in those murderous battles which were fought at the gates of the city of Mexico, where he lost, as you may see, his right arm. He is a Democrat doubly dyed in the wool, and willing to peril limb or life in the service of his country when and wherever that country may need his aid:

BY ISAAC W. GRIFFITH:

THE GENIUS OF COLUMBIA REARED IN THE FORESTS OF THE WESTERN WORLD: She cannot be frightened either by Austrian owls or Russian bears.

The next toast was:

THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS OF THE VARIOUS STATES OF THE UNION: We recognize them as the representatives of the principles of that party which the Jackson Democratic Association has ever advocated.

The following letters were here read:

HALLOWELL, MAINE,  
December 29, 1851.

GENTLEMEN: Your very polite invitation to attend the annual celebration of the Jackson Democratic Association, to be held at the Jackson Hall, Washington City, came duly to hand.

I am sorry to inform you that our Legislature will, at that time, have just convened, and that



I shall thereby be forbidden the pleasure of meeting with you.

I am, gentlemen, with respect, yours,  
JOHN HUBBARD.

Messrs. J. D. Hoover, Francis P. Blair, and others.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, TRENTON, N. J., }  
January 7, 1852. }

GENTLEMEN: I am honored by yours of the 13th ultimo, inviting me, on behalf of the Jackson Democratic Association, to attend your festival on the 8th instant, to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans. It would afford me much pleasure to attend your festival, if my public duties here would permit.

I embrace the occasion to express my profound admiration of the character and public services of the illustrious man whose memory it is the design of your Association to honor and perpetuate. No citizen of our great and glorious Confederacy save one, deserves a higher niche in the temple of fame. With sleepless vigilance in council and in the field, he ever asserted and defended the right. Popular wrongs, oppressive combinations, aristocratic privileges, never found in him an advocate nor defender. An enemy of corruption in every phase, impregnable in honor, integrity, and truth, he stood a bulwark of patriotic principle, of untiring devotion to his country. His keen perception penetrated the future, and beheld his country, not the mere *debris* of disjointed parts, but a magnificent whole, stretching in the majesty of her power from the rising to the setting sun; an example to mankind of *union, liberty, and strength*; a blessing to ourselves of *union, prosperity, and durability*. Let us adopt the memorable language of the distinguished dead: "OUR FEDERAL UNION, IT MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED."

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEO. F. FORT.

Messrs. Hoover, Blair, &c., Committee, Washington city.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
ANNAPOLIS, December 27, 1851.

GENTLEMEN: I had the honor, a few days since, to receive your polite invitation to attend the celebration of the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, on the 8th proximo, proposed by the "Jackson Democratic Association." The pressure of official engagements prevented an earlier reply.

I fear that it will not be in my power to avail myself of your kindness, inasmuch as the General Assembly of Maryland will open its session on the 7th, and I could not leave Annapolis until the two Houses are fully organized, for the reception of the annual message.

I am, with very high regard, your obedient servant,

E. LOUIS LOWE.

Messrs. J. D. Hoover, Francis P. Blair, and others, Committee.

MILLEDGEVILLE, January 3, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: My official engagements will preclude me from accepting your invitation to attend at Jackson Hall, in Washington City, on the 8th instant.

There is no occasion in the annals of our coun-

try, which I would more cheerfully celebrate than the one which has rendered the 8th of January memorable in American history. Nor in the long catalogue of our departed heroes, is there one whose memory I more deeply cherish or would more gratefully honor, than the Hero of the Hermitage. His stern and indomitable will—his unbending integrity—his ardent patriotism exhibited in his inflexible devotion to the Union of our fathers, made him emphatically *the man of his age*. We have had one Andrew Jackson; we shall in all probability never have another.

In alluding, as you have done in your letter, gentlemen, to that memorable remark of this stern but just old man, "The Union, it must be preserved," you have awakened recollections of the past, whose study may be instructive for the future. When Andrew Jackson uttered that emphatic and pregnant sentiment, it was not the expression of despotic power, nor the unguarded language of excited and exasperated feelings. Its conception was founded in the estimate which the patriot and statesman had placed upon the inestimable blessings of our glorious Union, founded upon a Constitution which dispensed equality and justice to all its members. Its utterance was the patriotic warning of the saviour of his country, against the dangers by which that country was beset and threatened. He called upon his countrymen to *preserve the Union*, and taught them, both by his precept and example, that a Union founded upon justice and cemented by principle, could only be maintained and preserved by a firm, rigid, and unbending adherence to the great principles of right and justice, which constituted its firm foundations. These cardinal principles of his Democratic faith, made him the man, the hero, the statesman, and the patriot. The occasion of your assemblage is indeed an opportune one, to imbue his admiring friends with that spirit of pure Democracy, so happily exemplified in the life and character of the illustrious dead. That Democracy which teaches equal rights to all, exclusive privileges to none; which takes hold upon the Constitution as the embodied truths of our republican fathers, and looks to its maintenance, and the preservation of the Union, as one and inseparable, which scorns to purchase a frail tenure of political power with the surrender of its most cherished principles, as a propitiatory offering, to recreant deserters from its faith and open revilers of its doctrines; that Democracy which teaches its followers that the surest guarantee of its success is to be found in the firmness and integrity with which its principles are maintained and defended by its true advocates and friends—which prefers honorable defeat to temporary power ingloriously won, only to be traitorously exercised; that Democracy which, looking to the future, sees more danger to its permanent success in the hesitancy of timid friends, and the treachery of pretended advocates, than in all the other elements of opposition to it combined. Such, gentlemen, was the democracy of Andrew Jackson. May his true friends and admirers emulate his earnest devotion to its principles, and imitate his virtuous defence of its honored and cherished stars.

I am, very respectfully, yours, &c.,

HOWELL COBB.

Mr. J. D. HOOPER, and others, Washington City.

The following toasts were then given :

**THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY:** We acknowledge no other party as a Union party, in contradistinction to those fundamental principles which have ever governed it since the great contest of 1800. In that contest *State Rights* triumphed over *consolidation*, the destructive element to all free governments.

**THE ARMY AND NAVY:** The *right* and *left* arm of our national defence. The rights and honor of their country their aim and their glory.

To this toast, Major STEVENS, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, responded as follows :

**GENTLEMEN:** In the name of the Army I return my thanks for the honor of this toast. I speak in behalf of the American Army—that Army which presents its breast to the enemy, which pours out its blood, which lays down its life. A weighty significance already attaches to these words—the *American Army*. For, first, it achieved the independence of these States against the most powerful nation of modern times. Second, it waged against the same Power the second war of independence to maintain the freedom of the seas; the war the culminating glories of which we this evening celebrate. And third, when a contiguous Republic interfered with the domestic concerns of one of our States, the vindication of the law of nations thus trampled under foot was placed in its hands, and the stars and stripes soon waved over the ancient seats of the Montezumas. The American Army will never forget what is due to its past renown and its future glory. We feel that, citizens alike with you, we are the Army of a free people. We know, too, that our country possesses elements of military strength scarcely appreciated by the inattentive observer of events—elements that have been nurtured by the wonderful growth, the trials and vicissitudes of our young nation struggling into manhood. Consider simply the history of the past ten years. They have been years of heroic effort, and have shown us to the world a heroic people. We have surpassed the migrations of the ancients, piercing mountains, spreading over mighty wildernesses, and through thousands of miles of length and breadth, planting homes and rearing States. Moses was forty years leading the Israelites to the promised land. We have in less than ten years made many lands of promise where before the Indian pursued the chase, and cold and famine held undisputed sway.

Gentlemen, in consequence of this stern experience, a force of will and a happy combination of individual qualities have been stamped upon the American character. No other people have been reared in such a school. No other people so combines command and obedience, is so subordinate to law, yet is so much a law unto itself. No other people, of ancient or modern times, possesses such elements of military power. It is the profound conviction of my heart, that in a just cause we could meet the world with a million of armed men, each man a tried and true soldier, surpassing even the iron men of Cromwell; those men who feared God, but not man; those men, stern in fight, yet merciful in victory; those men who achieved the great triumph of English independence, and transmitted to us its glorious recollections.

As an officer of the American Army, such is my profound conviction; and let me say to you that the members of both services which you have honored to-night, see that the American people are marching forward to mighty destinies, and that upon them heavy responsibilities will rest. We mean to do our whole duty. We mean at all times to be in harness and at our posts. We know not when the time may come—probably in our lifetime, and perhaps to-morrow. We feel no despondency, but are filled with joy and hope. When our beloved nation—"a Power on earth"—shall determine to measure its strength with other Powers in the maintenance of right, and in vindication of violated law and outraged humanity, the Army and Navy will carry their country's flag in triumph over all seas and through all lands.

Gentlemen, the words of your honored guest are sinking deep into the hearts of men. As he pleaded his cause to-night tears gushed from the eyes of strong and stern men, soldiers in the field and statesmen in the cabinet. The mighty soul of this nation responds to his touching appeal in behalf of his oppressed country. His mission to us will have fruit. He will return home with the conviction that our country will not permit Europe to be Cossack, when its interposition will make it Republican. Gentlemen, this much-vaunted Russian Power has received some attention at the hands of our own able military men. Its military strength is not so gigantic as has been represented. In all the vital elements of naval strength the United States is the first Power in the world. Wide-spread commerce, seafaring habits, multitudes of seamen, vast tonnage, (in round numbers over four millions,) these are the real sources of navies. The accumulation of obsolete material, of slow-sailing ships, and honey-combed guns, is not naval strength. On the contrary, it is weakness; for the temptation to use existing material is too strong to be resisted, and the failures due to the bad material depress and drag down the naval character of the nation.

In any contest with the United States, Russia could not float an inch board anywhere below low-water mark, except by sufferance; that is, so soon as the United States should get her fleets organized, which might require a year.

A vast spectre of Russian power haunts the imagination of some people. But it is a spectre. It is perhaps as much due to her overthrow of Napoleon as to anything else. Let any one reflect a little on that campaign, and suppose that Napoleon had had the naval control of the Baltic, and could have transported his armies, and above all his supplies, in ships from the mouths of the German rivers to St. Petersburg, and then ask what would have been the result. That campaign failed for want of transportation for provisions and forage, through the thinly-populated districts that yielded none of these supplies. A ship of one thousand tons is equal to a wagon train of six thousand horses. Let, therefore, the necessity of interposition arise, and with our immense means of transportation, we could knock at the gates of St. Petersburg, and before the Autocrat could call to the defence of his capital, his armies striking down liberty in Hungary and in the Caucasus, that magnificent monument of the genius of Peter would be a monument of the prowess and heroism of the sons of the New World. Yes, a



blow at St. Petersburg will succor the oppressed nations of Europe, and turn the Cossack tide.

I close my brief remarks with a renewed expression of my profound conviction that we have a work yet to do—to be done by us in our day and generation. Our fleets have to maintain the freedom of the seas, from our own happy shores to the remotest islands of the East; and our arms to demonstrate to despotic Powers, that not only are we the freest, but the greatest military people of ancient or modern times.

The next toast was:

HON. GEORGE MIFFLIN DALLAS: The man who fearlessly gave the casting vote in favor of the tariff of 1846. By this noble act of public duty, in favor of a great democratic measure, he placed himself in the front rank of American statesmen.

PHILADELPHIA, January 3, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I received with much pleasure the invitation with which, as a mark of your remembrance, you have honored me, to attend the Festival preparing by the Jackson Democratic Association in celebration of the great military achievement of "the illustrious citizen whose life was devoted to make good his motto, *The Union must be preserved!*"

Under no nobler prestige than the one connected with the fame and memory of the Hero of New Orleans, can the "*harmonizing influences*" of the Democracy be invoked and rallied; and I should be proud to participate, however humbly, in the effort "to allay the painful and threatening differences" to which you allude as pervading the party, and by that means make sure of ending the public mischiefs and perils to which our country has been subjected. As a banner, what name is more suggestive of high patriotism, constitutional fidelity, fearless freedom, and unflinching republicanism, than that of Andrew Jackson? And what banner has so invariably floated in triumph? It is a happy arguery when that banner is once more seen broadly unfurled at "the time, the place, and the occasion" you have designated!

I beg you to accept my thanks for your obliging attention, accompanied by very sincere regrets that I am unable to be with you.

Very respectfully, gentlemen, your friend and most obedient servant,

GEORGE M. DALLAS.

To J. D. Hoover, F. P. Blair, W. W. Curran, E. B. Robinson, Zeph. Jones, J. Knox Walker, Colonel J. G. Berret, C. S. Wallach, Dr. A. W. Miller, Committee.

General JOHN A. DIX, of New York: The tried and consistent republican—the firm and able friend of the Union, of progress, and of democratic principles.

NEW YORK, December 31, 1851.

GENTLEMEN: In consequence of my absence from my usual place of residence during the last two weeks, I did not receive until last evening your favor of the 13th instant, inviting me, in behalf of the Jackson Democratic Association of Washington, to attend their celebration of the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, on the 8th of January next.

Agreeing with you that "the time, the place, and the occasion will be propitious to the harmonizing influences which it is hoped the De-

mocracy of every section of the Republic is now disposed to apply, to allay the painful and threatening influences which have for some years pervaded the party," and appreciating as fully as yourselves the evils and dangers which have grown out of these differences, it is with deep regret that I find myself unable to accept your invitation.

The removal of some of the chief causes of dissension which have distracted us, furnishes a favorable opportunity of recurring to the great principles of the Democracy, with a view to the concentration of its strength for future contests. All our experience teaches us that these principles constitute the only safeguard of our republican institutions. On four occasions during the last fifty-four years, the Democracy has been overthrown; and in the two former, its defeat proved a signal for the wildest extravagances in the interpretation of the Constitution, and in the practical application of the powers delegated to the Federal Government. If the present Administration has not run into the same extremes, it is, perhaps, because the executive branch of the Government has not been sustained by a legislative majority. Happily, the reverses sustained by the Democracy are short-lived. The presidential term of four years has proved, and is likely to prove, an unfailing statute of limitations to the misrule of our opponents. With all their experience, they seem never to profit by "the uses of adversity." They disgust the people by their unscrupulousness in the exercise of power; and as soon as they can be reached by popular suffrage, they are compelled to relinquish the trusts they have abused, and without the consolation of being followed into their retirement by disinterested sympathy from any quarter. Their whole history, running back into the closing years of the last century, exhibits the same ruling principle under different phases. Under the first anti-republican administration, it was manifested in the alien and sedition laws, and under the second in the Panama mission, and in a vast scheme of expenditure, under the burden of which the public Treasury would infallibly have sunk into hopeless bankruptcy. The leading feature in the present administration—the one which will go far to fix its character in our political annals—is the success which individuals, more or less under its auspices, have had in depre-ating upon the public Treasury. It is but another manifestation of the incurable infirmity of the party which the administration represents, under a new and more demoralizing form. How far it might have gone but for the restraint of a Democratic majority in Congress, must be left to conjecture.

It has always been the aim of the Democratic administrations, from Jefferson to the latest of his successors, to maintain a rigid economy in public expenditure. With the best intentions, they may not, at all times, have been perfectly successful. But every system, in the administration of which frugality is an avowed principle, carries with it a strong assurance that there will be no frequent or wide departures from the standard of prudence. On the other hand, economy has never been an essential element in the creed of our opponents. It is not a principle, which they assert in theory as fundamental, or to which they cling in practice as a defence against abuse. Their avowed aims have rather been of a nature to call for large contribu-

cons from the people with a view to a re-distribution in modes almost necessarily local and partial in advantages. The protection of domestic industry by imposts for that object alone; internal improvements on a scale so broad as to confound all constitutional distinctions, are instances of these aims and of the tendency of the principles, which enter into the administrative system of our opponents. It is but charitable to admit that their political vices spring from the collection of false maxims, which they have adopted; and we may concede, with the same frankness, that the progress of the country in wealth and general prosperity, under the Democratic administrations, is the natural consequence of the better principles which we have set up as a standard for our guidance.

Nearly the whole philosophy of the Democratic scheme of policy in administering the Government is comprised in a single maxim—that industry should be liberated from all artificial and useless restraints, and left free to run into the channels marked out for it by the great interests to which it ministers. The policy of our opponents is to control and direct the application of capital and labor. It bears no slight resemblance in principle to the socialist doctrine of an organization of labor, and it shows the tendency of opposite errors to run into each other.

The practical working of the two systems is the truest index to the wisdom of the one and the fallacy of the other. I believe I may safely say, that during the three Federal or Whig administrations, no high principle was successfully asserted, no great public measure of unquestionable utility originated, or anything of consequence developed or achieved in the way of political or social progress. It is for this reason that the people, who bring to the scrutiny of men and measures an intuitive sagacity, which rarely fails them, have never continued our opponents in power more than four successive years. I entertain no doubt that the present administration will share, in this respect, the fate of all its predecessors of the same political complexion, and that the Democratic candidates, who shall be nominated at Baltimore in June next, for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, will be elected by the undivided vote of the party. To this result every true friend of republican principles will feel bound to contribute by his best exertions.

Our duty to ourselves, to the Union, and to those who are to come after us; our devotion to institutions founded in constitutional limitations of authority; our respect for the memory of the great man, whose name your association bears,—all appeal to us, in the most emphatic manner, to lay aside past differences, and to place the Democratic party on the strong ground of its ancient principles and faith. There may be errors to be overlooked and feelings of unkindness to be repressed. But who that carries within his breast a single spark of the patriotic fire, which animated our fathers in the establishment of an independence amid the perils, through which the Union has since been borne, shall refuse to make any personal sacrifice or overlook every minor consideration for the sake of the cause? Gentlemen, the political aspect of Europe is gloomy and foreboding. Public feeling in our own country is feverish and excited. The lapse of a few years may bring

about the most important results for us and for the friends of free government, wherever they are to be found. The rapid growth of our territory, our population and our commerce, and the spread of our people, in the prosecution of their commercial enterprises, over the whole habitable surface of the globe are every day multiplying and complicating our external relations. I need not suggest to you, gentlemen, how important it is, in view of possible contingencies, that the administration of the Government should be in the hands of a party, to which the country may look with confidence for prudence, firmness, and an enlightened sympathy in movements involving principles kindred to those, on which our political institutions are founded.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully, your fellow-citizen,

JOHN A. DIX.

Messrs. J. D. Hoover, Francis P. Blair, W. W. Curran, E. B. Robinson, Zephaniah Jones, J. Knox Walker, Col. J. G. Berret, Charles S. Wallach, Dr. A. W. Miller, Committee.

HONORABLE DANIEL S. DICKINSON: A faithful sentinel on the watchtower of Democracy. He preferred *constitutional principles* to sectional *advancement*; and the Democratic party will never forget the services of a man who loves his country more than himself.

BINGHAMPTON, N. Y., January 6, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: My best acknowledgments are returned for your kind invitation to participate with you in celebrating the approaching anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans. Most gladly would I be with you, but intervening distance and demands upon my time here prevent.

Sincerely yours,

D. S. DICKINSON.

Messrs. J. D. Hoover, and others, Committee.

The next toasts were as follows:

THE THREE DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT—*The Executive, Legislative, and Judicial*: Coördinate, but independent of each other: The great balance wheels of our political system.

JOHN TYLER: The only man who ever successfully administered the Government without a party—his administration was marked by a firmness of purpose and a consistency of principle that are unparalleled in the history of our country.

SHERWOOD FOREST, January 2, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: It would afford me no ordinary pleasure to be able to avail myself of your polite invitation to be present on the occasion of the proposed anniversary celebration of the ever-memorable battle of New Orleans, and to unite in rendering all honor to the memory of the great Captain, who led our hosts to victory, and inscribed his own name on an imperishable tablet; but the indisposition of some members of my family will prevent it. I lose much in foregoing the visit—I lose the opportunity of exchanging salutations with many who will be present on the occasion, and who, after a separation of some years, it would be happiness to meet. I lose much in being denied the gratification of going up to the altar of the country with yourselves and others, and renewing the pledge of fidelity to the Constitution and the Union. Preserve the first, and the last becomes impregnable. With those words emblazoned on our banner, the sentinel on the watch-



lower will be able to announce that "All is well." Nor does my loss stop here. I learn that one is to be present from another land, whose name is synonymous with genius and patriotism; and whose noble virtues are identified with the bitterness of exile. I shall not be present to aid you in bidding him welcome—a welcome from hearts that know no guile. He comes to plead the cause of his downtrodden country. He comes to denounce absolutism, centralization, and tyranny. You will "hear him for his cause." If all may not be granted that he now asks, you will unfold to him that future, now near at hand, and which a cycle of twenty-three years will convert into reality, when the oppressed nations may bring their complaints to the bar of the American Senate, as of old to Rome, with the certainty of being heard.

Be pleased to make acceptable the subjoined sentiment, and receive my cordial salutations.

JOHN TYLER.

Non-intervention by America in the affairs of Europe, should imply non-intervention by Europe in the affairs of America. It is a bad rule that does not work both ways.

To J. D. Hoover, F. P. Blair, W. W. Curran, and others, Committee.

HON. WILLIAM L. MARCY: A sagacious statesman; a genuine Republican; a man who shrinks from no responsibility. The war with Mexico exemplified his capacity and his devotion to the honor of his country.

ALBANY, January 2, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I sincerely regret that I am obliged to decline your invitation to join the Jackson Democratic Association in celebrating the approaching anniversary of the battle of New Orleans. It would give me much pleasure to be present on an occasion which will bring together so many distinguished Democrats and call up so many glorious recollections.

The event your Association propose to commemorate is generally regarded as the most brilliant military achievement in our history, and our countrymen who bore an important part in it are heirs to a never-dying fame. Among them, and by far the most conspicuous, was the illustrious man whose name is connected with your Association.

The anniversary of the battle of New Orleans naturally leads the mind to regard him mainly as a hero; but the condition of the country at this time is, however, such as to make it a matter of higher interest to contemplate him in his more exalted character of a consummate statesman. He was a man, above all others, eminently fitted for critical emergencies. When "painful and threatening differences" distract us, and the course of duty becomes embarrassing, the light of his example may be resorted to as a guiding star. He looked to the Constitution for direction, and pursued the path it pointed out with a fearless and unflinching step. He had a considerate regard for the welfare of the whole country, but at the same time was mindful of what was due to each section of it. He was anxious to protect and advance all interests, but avoided a course of policy unjustly partial to any.

To recall the counsels and to dwell upon the example of such a statesman, cannot at any time fail to be profitable, but must be eminently so in the present conjuncture of our public affairs

I anticipate, as you do, auspicious results from a celebration which will naturally bring up for particular notice the virtues and services of such a Patriot. It will have, I trust, a harmonizing influence upon that great national party of which he was once the acknowledged head, as well as the practical exponent of its principles.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

W. L. MARCY.

Messrs. J. D. Hoover, Francis P. Blair, W. W. Curran, E. B. Robinson, Zephaniah Jones, J. Knox Walker, Col. J. G. Berret, Charles S. Wallack, Dr. A. W. Miller, Committee.

General JOHN E. WOOL: In war the defender of his country's honor—in peace the able and zealous advocate of constitutional liberty. The democracy of the country honor the man and admire his principles.

TROY, 5th January, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your invitation to join you in celebrating the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans on the 8th instant.

It would indeed afford me pleasure to unite with you in celebrating a day so glorious in the annals of our country. Although my official duties will not permit me to be present and to partake of your festivities, I will be with you in spirit.

With my grateful acknowledgments for your kind invitation, I have the honor to subscribe myself your obedient servant,

JOHN E. WOOL.

To J. D. Hoover, Francis P. Blair, W. W. Curran, &c., &c., Committee.

HON. JAMES BUCHANAN: One of Pennsylvania's noblest sons. As an American legislator, the Federal Constitution was his primary book; as a diplomatist, his country's honor and glory were his guiding star. His fame as a statesman will have its immortality upon the pages of his country's history.

WHEATLAND, (NEAR LANCASTER,) }  
January 2, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I have been honored by your invitation, in behalf of the Jackson Democratic Association, to attend their celebration of the approaching anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, at Jackson Hall, in the city of Washington.

I am truly sorry that indispensable engagements will deprive me of the pleasure and the privilege of being with you on that interesting occasion. Andrew Jackson, whether considered as a hero or a statesman, was the man of the age in which he lived. But above all, his ardent and unselfish patriotism, and his devotion to the cause of popular rights and political liberty, must forever endear his memory to every sound Democrat.

"He was a man, take him for all in all,

I shall not look upon his like again."

With sentiments of the highest regard, I remain, very respectfully, your friend,

JAMES BUCHANAN.

J. D. Hoover, Francis P. Blair, W. W. Curran, Esqs., and others, Committee, &c., &c.

The following sentiments were then volunteered by gentlemen present, many of which were received with great and prolonged cheering:

By B. B. FRENCH, in behalf of the Executive Committee: JAMES K. POLK, in our hour of festivity, let us not forget to honor the memory of one whose sun went down in its meridian glory.

By B. B. FRENCH: The people of the United States: Their freedom was established by foreign intervention; can they, then, look coldly on and see the struggles of any people for the same freedom they possess, overcome by despotic might? No, never!

By W. W. CURRAN: The Union of the States: A glorious system of planets, held together by the Hand that preserves the Universe.

By General PATTON, of Pennsylvania: The cause of Hungarian independence: So sure as Freedom has a spirit, Liberty an altar, Patriotism a soul, or Religion a God, it must and will triumph.

By JOHN C. F. R. SALOMON: The State of Ohio, and her noble patriot, B. F. Tefft, D. D., were the first in the West, among the free people of the United States of North America, who spoke the word of INTERVENTION against the acts of tyrants in Europe. We are indebted to them for the opportunity we now enjoy, to hail the presence of noble Kosuth.

By C. S. JONES: Hon Jesse D. Bright, of Indiana: A rising star in the political firmament: May its culminating point not be reached until it illumines the White House.

By J. M. McENEAWRY: Kosuth, Hungary, Ireland, and Liberty!

By THOMAS CATON: General Andrew Jackson: The hero of one of the greatest military achievements on record; the statesman who was selected by his admiring countrymen to fill the most exalted position on earth: May the great Democratic party, whenever fanatics attempt to overthrow this Government, reiterate the patriotic sentiment of that immortal man—"The Union must—shall be preserved."

By A. F. CUNNINGHAM: THOMAS JEFFERSON: It was this great Apostle of Liberty and Democracy, who wished that the Atlantic was an ocean of fire, that this nation might be forever separated from the wicked and corrupting influences of the Old World—the time has arrived when every true friend of his country should, to this sentiment, respond AMEN!—and let its lesson operate upon his judgment.

By B. B. FRENCH: The Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States: The Statesman Farmer—and the Farmer Statesman: Another hickory from the old Democratic forest.

By R. W. LATHAM:

Hail Liberty! supreme delight,  
Thou ideal of the mind;

Through every clime extend thy flight—  
The world, range unconfin'd.

By S. A. ELLIOT: The ever-present manes of the patriot Jackson: The intrepid champion of the Union against all its enemies.

Jackson! thy fame shall unborn nations see,  
And thine own deeds thy monument shall be.

By THOMAS THORNLEY: No alliance with England, until her working classes and the Irish nation are unfettered.

By the same: The rights of the working classes—Hours, wages, education, suffrage, freedom of the press, and impartial juries: When Democracy prevails, their rights are secure.

By F. McNERHANY: General James Shields: A patriotic statesman, who has maintained the honor of his country upon the battle-field, and sustains with equal firmness the cause of republican liberty in the councils of the nation. Such shields are our surest defence in war—our brightest ornaments in peace.

By C. S. JONES: Clark Mills, of South Carolina: The artist, whose creative genius has given immortality to the form and features of Andrew Jackson.

The following was also given: The Lion of the day: Like the noble lion of the forest, when his voice is heard, all others are hushed in silence.

Mr. P. B. KEY, upon being called upon, rose and remarked, that there had been so many eloquent speeches already made upon the sound old Democratic principles, that, at this late hour of the evening, he would beg to be excused from adding to what could not be improved by anything he could say, but would propose the following sentiment:

INTERVENTION: That just exercise of right which belongs to the powerful to help the oppressed. Non-intervention: That miserable, selfish policy which would induce us to pray, "God bless me and my wife, my son John and his wife, us four and no more." [Laughter.]

At the conclusion of the speeches and the various toasts, Mr. P. B. KEY gave as the concluding sentiment:

JONAS D. HOOVER, the President of the Jackson Democratic Association.

Upon which Mr. HOOVER, being called for, rose and remarked that the lateness of the hour and the exertions he had undergone must be taken as his excuse for not speaking. He concluded by thanking the gentlemen who had so enthusiastically responded to the toast which he had been honored with. Mr. H. concluded by giving the following toast:

THE REFUGEES: The Autocrat and Austria demand them of England. We can send them half a million—with arms and their Leader.

At twelve o'clock the Banquet closed and the company dispersed.











